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## MOTIVES IN ECONOMIC LIFE

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The first quarter of this century is breaking up in a riot of economic irrationalism. The carefully selected efficiency axioms of peaceful life are tossed on the scrap heap, and all society seems to be seeking objects and experiences not found in any of our economists' careful descriptions of the modern industrial order. War allies refuse to unify their military policy, Russia is called on to exhibit a sedate and stable economic life when she lacks wholesale all the attributes to it. And we Americans, despite the notorious record of stringent social accounting imposed by the standards of war efficiency, still lean with fine confidence upon the structure of genial optimism which dominates so much of our national psychology. We look hopefully to see patriotism flow pure and strong from an industrial stratum whose occasional phenomena are Lawrence, McKees Rock, Paterson, Colorado Fuel and Iron, the Durst hop ranch in California, Everett in Washington, Butte in Montana, Bisbee in Arizona. Though strikes have increased some 300 per cent over peace times, though the American labor world is boiling and sputtering disturbances, bewildering in their variety and rapidity of appearance, our cure is a vague caution to "wait until casualties begin to come," an uneasy contemplation of labor conscription, or a wave of suppression.

Though national unity, economic and military, seems the obvious and essential aim of the patriotic citizen, much done in the name of unification seems to be curiously efficient in producing disunity. The following commonplace incident illustrates this. Note first that Seattle is in a state of extreme industrial unrest. During a single short period this summer, that city had a two weeks' strike paralysis of its street-car system, a threatened walk-out of the gas workers, was the strike center of a complete tie-up of the lumber industry of the state, experienced a building-trades strike involving the entire city, had a walk-out of 30,000 shipbuilders, an express drivers' strike, a candy workers' strike, a newsboys' strike, and enjoyed the beginning of an organization of domestic servants. This city so described becomes the environment for the following incident.

The I. W. W. is strong in the Pacific Northwest, and though it bitterly fights the American Federation of Labor, some of the federation trade unions found in the rough-handed trades, such as lumbering, stevedoring, and even shipbuilding, have drifted toward syndicalism and many of their members even carry secretly the red cards of the I. W. W. The federal government has met the anti-war agitation of the I. W. W. with fair cleverness. When arrests have been made, publicity has been given to the alleged treasonable activity of the leaders, and the government case sustained before the public. The economic activities of the rank and file of the I. W. W., however, have not been interfered with, and their meeting halls in the Northwest continue thronged and the center of their strike activity. A Mrs. Sandburg, a Finnish woman, widow, with two children of three and six, lives on a small farm near Seattle. Being destitute she had been awarded a mothers' pension by King County. On November 17 of this year this pension was cut off and the woman recommended for deportation because federal officers asserted that "she was actively working in the interests of the I. W. W., meetings had been held at her home, and members of the organization had visited there frequently." Nothing could be more ingeniously done to focus the interest of a large unrestful labor group in the state of Washington on syndicalism than this incident. This well-intentioned and conventionally patriotic act is not merely inopportune, it is unhappily creative. The great emotional outflow stimulated into existence by the startling announcement of our national danger is being transferred from its desirable nationalistic object and focused on such activities, distressing both socially and economically. It seems an accurate example of the Freudian *übertragung*, the transference of emotional expression. Such a mutilation of the psychological basis of Seattle's patriotic unity does not run counter to the current standards of acceptable economic or social development. To most of the citizenship national unity remains a legal concept.

It is a far cry from such a pseudo-politico economic illustration to a consideration of the delinquencies of modern economics, but there is a vital relation. Our conventional economics today analyzes no phase of industrialism nor the wage relationship, nor citizenship in pecuniary society, in a manner to offer a key to such distressing and complex problems as this. Human nature riots today through our economic structure with ridi-

cule and destruction, and we economists look on helpless and aghast. The menace of the war does not seem potent to quiet revolt or still class cries. The anxiety and apprehension of the economist should not be produced by this cracking of his economic system, but by the poverty of the criticism of industrialism which his science offers. Why are economists mute in the presence of a most obvious crisis in our industrial society? Why have our criticisms of industrialism no sturdy warnings about this unhappy evolution? Why does an agitated officialdom search today in vain among our writings for scientific advice touching labor inefficiency or industrial disloyalty, for prophecies and plans about the rise in our industrialism of economic classes unharmonious and hostile?

The fair answer seems this. We economists speculate little on human motives. We are not curious about the great basis of fact which dynamic and behavioristic psychology has gathered to illustrate the instinct stimulus to human activity. Most of us are not interested to think of what a psychologically full or satisfying life is. We are not curious to know that a great school of behavior analysis called the Freudian has been built around the human instincts. Our economic literature shows that we are but rarely curious to know whether industrialism is suited to man's inherited nature, or what man in turn will do to our rules of economic conduct in case these rules are repressive. The motives to economic activity which have done the major service in orthodox economic texts and teachings have been either the vague middle-class virtues of thrift, justice, and solvency; or the equally vague moral sentiments of "striving for the welfare of others," "desire for the larger self," "desire to equip oneself well"; or lastly, that labor-saving deduction that man is stimulated in all things economic by his desire to satisfy his wants with the smallest possible effort. All this gentle parody in motive theorizing continued contemporaneously with the output of the rich literature of social and behavioristic psychology which was almost entirely addressed to this very problem of human motives in modern economic society. Noteworthy exceptions are the remarkable series of Veblen books, the articles and criticisms by Mitchell, Fisher, and Patten, and the significant small book by Taussig entitled *Inventors and Money-Makers*. It is to this complementary field of psychology that the economists must turn for a vitalization of their basic hypotheses. There awaits them a bewildering array of studies of the

motives, emotions, and folk ways of our pecuniary civilization. Generalizations and experiment statistics abound ready-made for any structure of economic criticism. The human motives are isolated, described, compared. Business confidence, the release of work energy, advertising appeal, market vagaries, the basis of value computations, decay of workmanship, the labor unrest, decline in the thrift habit, are the subjects treated. A brief list of these economic-psychologists is impressive: Veblen, Thorndike, Hollingworth, Dewey, James, Watson, Holt, Sumner, Thomas, Stanley Hall, Jastrow, Patrick, Hobhouse, M'Dougall, Hart, Shand, Wallas, Lippmann, Freud, Prince, Southard, Glueck, Brill, Bailey, Paton, Cannon, Crile, and so on. One might say, with fairness, that each one of these has contributed criticism touching the springs of human activity of which no economic theorist can afford to plead ignorance. The stabilizing of the science of psychology and the vogue among economists of the scientific method will not allow these psychological findings to be shouldered out by the careless *a priori* deductions touching human nature which still dominate our orthodox texts. The confusion and metaphysical propensities of our economic theory, our neglect of the consequences of child labor, our lax interest in national vitality and health, the unusableness of our theories of labor unrest and of labor efficiency, our careless reception of problems of population, eugenics, sex, and birth control; our ignorance of the relation of industry to crime, industry to feeble-mindedness, industry to functional insanity, industry to education; and our astounding indifference to the field of economic consumption—all this delinquency can be traced back to our refusal to see that economics was social economics, and that a full knowledge of man, his instincts, his power of habit acquisition, his psychological demands were an absolute prerequisite to clear and purposeful thinking on our industrial civilization. M'Dougall, the Oxford social psychologist, said in direct point: "Political economy suffered hardly less from the crude nature of the psychological assumption from which it professed to deduce the explanations of its facts, and its prescriptions for economic legislation. It would be a libel not altogether devoid of truth to say that the classical political economy was a tissue of false conclusions drawn from false psychological assumptions."

What then are the facts of human nature which the newer psychology offers as the beginning of economic theorizing?

Man is born into this world accompanied by a rich psychical disposition which furnishes him ready-made all his motives for conduct, all his desires, economic or wasteful, moral or depraved, crass or aesthetic. He can show a demand for nothing that is not prompted by this galaxy of instincts. He is a mosaic of unit tendencies to react faithfully in certain ways when certain stimuli are present. As M'Dougall has graphically put it, "Take away these instinctive dispositions with their powerful impulses and the human organism would become incapable of activity of any kind; it would lie inert and motionless like a wonderful clockwork whose mainspring had been removed or a steam engine whose fires had been drawn. These impulses are the mental forces which maintain and shape all the life of individuals and societies, and in them we are confronted with the central mystery of life and mind and will."

Thorndike, the Columbia psychologist, in his analysis of human motives, has written, "The behavior of man in the family, in business, in the state, in religion, and in every other affair of life, is rooted in his unlearned original equipment of instincts and capacities. All schemes of improving human life must take account of man's original nature, most of all when their aim is to counteract it."

Veblen wrote in his book, *The Instinct of Workmanship*, "for mankind, as for the other higher animals, the life of the species is conditioned by the complement of instinctive proclivities, and tropismatic aptitudes with which the species is typically endowed. Not only is the continued life of the race dependent upon the adequacy of its instinctive proclivities in this way, but the routine and details of its life are also, in a last resort, determined by these instincts. These are the prime movers in human behavior, as in the behavior of all those animals that show self-direction or discretion. The human activity, in so far as it can be spoken of as conduct, can never exceed the scope of these instinctive dispositions by initiative of which man takes action. Nothing falls within the human scheme of things desirable to be done except what answers to these native proclivities of man. These native proclivities alone make anything worth while, and out of their working emerge not only the purpose and efficiency of life but its substantial pleasures and pains as well."

John Dewey wrote in his *Democracy in Education*: "The instinct activities may be called, metaphorically, spontaneous in the sense that the organs give a strong bias for a certain sort of

operation—a bias so strong that we cannot go contrary to it, though by trying to go contrary we may pervert, stunt, and corrupt them.”

Cannon, the Harvard physiologist, has said: “More and more it is appearing that in men of all races, and in most of the higher animals, the springs of action are to be found in the influences of certain emotions which express themselves in characteristic instinctive acts.”

Instincts to their modern possessor seem unreasoning and un-rational, and often embarrassing. To the race, however, they are an efficient and tried guide to conduct, for they are the result of endless experiments of how to fight, to grow, to procreate, under the ruthless valuing mechanism of the competition for survival. In fact, outside of some relatively unimportant bodily attributes, the instincts are all that our species in its long evolution has considered worth saving. When one considers the unarmed state in which the soft-bodied human is shoved out in the world to fight for his existence against creatures with thick hides, vise-like jaws, and claws, it becomes clearly evident that if man had not been equipped with an instinctive and unlearned code of efficient competition behavior his struggle on this earth would have been brief and tragic. And also in contrast with his own remote ape ancestors, one could in retrospect see that the survival of the human species must have had as a prerequisite a rich and varied instinct equipment which removed man from the necessity of learning a complete scheme of behavior via the dangerous trial and error method. The species, without some unlearned and protective capacities, would not have lasted the instruction. Within the past ten thousand years nothing in our brilliant experiment with the environment called civilization has been long enough adhered to to bring about a psychical adjustment capable of physical inheritance, and so the basic motives of the business man today remain those of his cave ancestor. The contribution of civilization has been merely an accumulation of more or less useful traditions touching habits accidental in character and questionable in desirability.

All human activity, then, is untiringly actuated by the demand for realization of the instinct wants. If an artificially limited field of human endeavor be called economic life, all of its so-called motives hark directly back to the human instincts for their origin. There are, in truth, no economic motives as such. The motives

of economic life are the same as those of the life of art, of vanity and ostentation, of war and crime, of sex. Economic life is merely the life in which instinct gratification is alleged to take on a rational pecuniary habit form. Man is not less a father with a father's parental instinct-interest just because he passes down the street from his home to his office. His business raid into his rival's market has the same naïve charm that tickled the heart of his remote ancestor when in the night he rushed the herds of a near-by clan. A manufacturer tries to tell a conventional world that he resists the closed shop because it is un-American, loses him money, or is inefficient. A few years ago he was more honest when he said he would run his business as he wished and would allow no man to tell him what to do. His instinct of leadership, reinforced powerfully by his innate instinctive revulsion to the confinement of the closed shop, gave the true stimulus. His opposition is psychological, not ethical.

The importance to me of the description of the innate tendencies or instincts to be here given lies in their relation to my main explanation of economic behavior, which is:

1. That these instinct tendencies are persistent, are far less warped or modified by the environment than we believe; that they function quite as they have for a hundred thousand years; that they, as motives in their various normal or perverted habit form, can at times dominate singly the entire behavior and act as if they were a clear character dominant.

2. That if the environment through any of the conventional instruments of repression—such as extreme religious orthodoxy, economic inferiority, imprisonment—or physical disfigurement—such as short stature or a crippled body—repress the full psychological expression in the field of the instinct tendencies, then a psychic revolt, a slipping into abnormal mental functioning, takes place, with the usual result that society accuses this revolutionist of being either wilfully inefficient, alcoholic, a syndicalist, super-sensitive, an agnostic, or insane.

Convention has judged the *normal* man in economic society to be that individual who maintains a certain business placidity, is solvent, safe and not irritating to the delicate structure of credit. Trotter, the English social psychologist, has said that today's current normality has nothing to do with either stability of institutions or human progress. Its single important characteristic is that it is conventional. He urges the imperative need of a new concept of economic normality.



Perhaps one should stop to most seriously emphasize this concept of a new human normality, and also to appreciate the handicap to discussion which comes when every analyzer at a round table has a very different brand of human normality in mind. There is that theoretical 100 per cent normality which is gained for the individual by free mobility plus a full and fine environmental equipment of persons and instruments, and which results in a harmonious and full expression of his psychic potentialities. Since each vigorous life lived under these conditions would generate wisdom in direct proportion to it, I think that an evolutionary and also conventionally desirable progress could be prophesied as a result. This progress has no so-called idealistic goal or direction. It has merely a potentiality for more wisdom, and that wisdom might lead to any of countless possible developments.

A second normality would be that produced by that freedom in instinct expression and that environment which would give far more unconventional experimentation, far more wisdom than we now have, but not the amount which would crack social life by hurrying the change of traditions too much, or destroy those civilization institutions which could be modified with some hope of their higher usefulness. Conscious that man will change, if he is to change, to this latter compromise-normality concept, it is such a normality that I have in mind when I use the term.

If normality be that state in which the inherited instinct-potentiality in man is realized, then a cataloguing of the various instincts would be an invaluable aid in constructive social analysis. Such catalogues exist in most of the modern psychologies and social psychologies but all the catalogues differ from each other in kind and complexity. James and Thorndike give man a multitude of instincts, Trotter and Sumner limit them to four, Brill to two, hunger and sex. A more important disagreement between instinct theorists is, for instance, that existing between M'Dougall and Thorndike. Thorndike protests against sticking into man's permanent psychic equipment any sort of unit characters, for instance, like a gregarious urge or a pugnacious bent. He claims this to be a reversion to the old and abandoned scheme of "moral faculties." Thorndike's "instinct" is an unlearned and original proclivity to react in a certain fixed, simple way, particular to one simple stimulus. Under his scheme man's instinct-acts would run up into the innumerable. The findings of fact and the hints of the psychopathologists seem strongly to substantiate Thorndike's

thesis. However, the reflex acts used by Thorndike in his illustrations of instinct behavior group themselves more or less naturally under sort of "faculty" titles; and it seems that if too great delicacy of application be not demanded a tentative and useful short category of instincts, similar to M'Dougall's, can be schemed. The list which I shall suggest is an attempted harmonious amalgamation of instinct categories which seem to have reasonably withstood criticism. It is an effort to describe certain consistent behavior practices in man, the appreciation of which might give to social critics added capacity in behavior prophecy.

The following catalogue of instincts includes those motives to conduct which, under observation, are found to be unlearned, are universal in the species, and which must be used to explain the innumerable similarities in behavior, detached in space and time from each other.

1. *Instinct of gregariousness.*—This innate tendency is exemplified in two ways. Modern economic history is full of that strange irrational phenomenon, "the trek to the city." Even in thinly settled Australia, half the population lives in a few great cities on the coast. In South America and on the Pacific Coast, this same abnormal agglomeration of folk has taken place. The extraordinary piling-up of labor masses in modern London, Berlin, New York, Chicago, has created cities too large for economic efficiency, for recreation or sanitation, and yet, despite their inefficiencies and the food and fire risk, the massing-up continues. Factory employment, though speeded up and paid low wages, grows popular for it caters to gregariousness, and domestic service is shunned for it is a lonely job. Huddle and congestion seem the outstanding characteristics of the modern city.

The second exemplification is seen in man's extreme sensitiveness to the opinion of his group—which is an irrational gregarious reflex. This instinct is the psychic basis for his proclivity to react to mob suggestion and hysteria. In a strike, each striker has a perfectly biological capacity for violence if the group seems to will it. Because of this same gregariousness, a panic can sweep Wall Street, or an anti-pacifist murmur turn into persecution and near-lynching. The crowd members find themselves fatally gripped in the mob drift, they press forward willingly, all yell, and all shake fists and the most gentle spirited will find himself pulling at the lynch rope. Royce has said, "Woe to the society which belittles the power and menace of the mob mind." The lonely

sheep-herders become in the end irrational, and solitary confinement ends in insanity or submission.

The slavish following of fashion and fads is rooted in gregariousness, and the most important marketing problem is to guess the vagaries of desire which the mob spirit may select. A great crowd or festival is satisfying for its own sake. The installation of a president of a university needs behind the rows of intellectual delegates a mass of mere onlooking humanity, and it gets it by various naïve maneuvers. Crowds seldom disperse as rapidly as they might. They are loath to destroy their crowdishness, and therefore irrationally hang about. If gregariousness should weaken, a panic would seize municipal values, and professional baseball, the advertising business, and world fairs and conventions would become impossible.

2. *Instinct of parental bent: motherly behavior: kindness.*—In terms of sacrifice this is the most powerful of all instincts. This instinct, whose main concern is the cherishing of the young through their helpless period, is strong in women and weak in men. The confident presence in economic life of such anti-child influences as the saloons, licensed prostitution, child labor, the police control of juvenile delinquency, can be well explained by the fact that political control has been an inheritance of the socially indifferent male sex. The coming of women into the franchise promises many interesting and profound economic changes. What little conservation exists today goes back to the male parental instinct for its rather feeble urge.

The disinterested indignation over misery-provoking acts which comes from the parental instinct is the base stimulus to law and order, and furnishes the nebulous force behind such social vagaries as the Anti-Saloon League, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the Associated Charities, the movement for juvenile courts, prison reform, Belgian relief, the Child Labor League. The competitive egotism of pecuniary society has stifled the habits which express the parental bent. We are not habituated to humanitarianism.

3. *Instinct of curiosity: manipulation: workmanship.*—Curiosity and its attendant desire to draw near, and if possible to manipulate the curious object, are almost reflex in their simplicity. Of more economic applicability is the innate bent toward workmanship. Veblen has said that man has "a taste for effective work, and a distaste for futile effort." This desire and talent that man

has to mould material to fancied ends, be the material clay or the pawns in diplomacy, explains much of human activity, while wages explain little. Prisoners have a horror of prison idleness. Clerks drift out of stereotyped office work, and the monotony of modern industrialism has created a new type of migratory worker. As James has said, "Constructiveness is a genuine and irresistible instinct in man as in the bee or beaver." Man is then not naturally lazy, but innately industrious. Where laziness exists it is an artificial habit, inculcated by civilization. Man has a true quality sense in what he does: there is, then, a "dignity of labor," and it is the job and the industrial environment that produce the slacker, and not the laborer's willful disposition.

4. *Instinct of acquisition: collecting: ownership.*—Man lusts for land, and goes eagerly to the United States, to South America, to Africa for it. It is the real basis of colonial policy and gives much of the interest to peace parleys. A landless proletariat is an uneasy, thwarted militant proletariat. The cure for unruly Ireland is proven to be peasant proprietorship, and the social menace in the American labor world is the homeless migratory laborer. Russian peasants revolted for land, and this is the single consistent note in the anarchy chaos in Mexico. Man, much of the time, acquires for the mere sake of acquiring. A business man is never rich enough. If, however, making more money uses his acquisitive capacities too little, he may throw this cultivated habit-activity into acquiring Van Dykes or bronzes or Greek antiques, or on a smaller and less aesthetic scale, postage stamps, signatures, or shaving mugs. Asylums are full of pitiful, economic persons who, lost to the laws of social life, continue as automatons to follow an unmodified instinct in picking up and hoarding pins, leaves, scraps of food, paper. The savings banks in large part depend on this inborn tendency for their right to exist.

5. *Instinct of fear and flight.*—Man has the capacity to be fearful under many conditions. His most important fear from an economic standpoint is the stereotyped worker's or business man's worry over the insecure future. This anxiety or apprehension which is so plentiful up and down the scale of economic life has a profound and distressing influence on the digestive tract, and in turn on the general health. Much of nervous indigestion so common in the ruthless economic competition of today is "fear-indigestion," is instinct reaction, and can only be cured by removing the cause. This removal of the cause is performed many times

by an equally instinctive act, flight. Flight in business may take the conventional form of retirement or selling out, but often adopts the unique method of bankruptcy, insanity, or suicide.

6. *Instinct of mental activity: thought.*—To quote Thorndike: "This potent mover [workmanship] of men's economic and recreated activities has its taproot in the instinct of multiform mental and physical activity." To be mentally active, to do something, is instinctively satisfying. Much of invention springs costless from a mind thinking for the sheer joy of it. Organization, plans in industry, schemes for market extension, visions of ways to power, all agitate neurones in the brain ready and anxious to give issue in thought. A duty of the environment is not only to allow, but to encourage, states in which meditation naturally occurs.

7. *The housing or settling instinct.*—In its simplest form, the gunny-sack tents of the tramps, the playhouses of children, the camp in the thicket of the hunter. The squatter has a different feeling for his quarter section when he has a dugout on it. Man innately wants a habitation into which he can retire to sleep or to nurse his wounds, physical or social. The Englishman's home is his castle.

8. *Instinct of migration: homing.*—To every man the coming of spring suggests moving on. The hobo migration begins promptly with the first sunshine, and the tramp instinct fills Europe with questing globe-trotters. The advice, "Go West, young man," was not obeyed on account of the pecuniary gain alone, but because the venture promised satisfaction to the instinct to migrate as well.

9. *Instinct of hunting.*—Man survived in earlier ages through destroying his rivals and killing his game, and these tendencies bit deep into his psychic make-up. Modern man delights in a prize fight or a street brawl, even at times joys in ill news of his own friends, has poorly concealed pleasure if his competition wrecks a business rival, falls easily into committing atrocities if conventional policing be withdrawn, kills off a trade union, and is an always possible member of a lynching party. He is still a hunter and reverts to his primordial hunt habits with disconcerting zest and expediency. Historic revivals of the hunting urge make an interesting recital of religious inquisitions, witch burnings, college hazings, persecution of suffragettes, of the I. W. W., of the Japanese, or pacifists. All this goes on often under naïve rationalization about justice and patriotism, but it is pure and innate lust to run something down and hurt it.

10. *Instinct of anger: pugnacity.*—In its bodily preparation for action, anger is identical with fear, and fear constitutes the most violent and unreasoning of purposeful dispositions in man. Caught up in anger, all social modifications of conduct tend to become pale, and man functions in primordial attack and defense. Anger and its resulting pugnacity have as their most common excitant the balking or thwarting of another instinct, and this alone explains why man has so jealously, through all ages, fought for liberty. Pugnacity is the very prerequisite of individual progress. Employers fight a hampering union, unions a dogmatic employer; every imprisoned man is, in reality, psychically incorrigible; students rebel against an autocratic teacher; street boys gang together to fight a bully; nations are ever ready, yes, hoping, to fight, and their memory of the cost of war is biologically rendered a short one. In fighting, there is a subtle reversion to the primitive standards, and early atrocities become the trench vogue of later months. Patriotism without fighting seems, to western nations, a pallid thing. Most of the vigorous phases of modern civilization remain highly competitive and warlike. Ethics has a long psychological way to go in its vitally necessary task of sublimating the pugnacious bent in man.

11. *Instinct of revolt at confinement: at being limited in liberty of action and choice.*—As above noted, man revolts violently at any oppression, be it of body or soul. Being held physically helpless produces in man and animals such profound functional agitation that death can ensue. Passive resistance to war can only be possible when nearly all of man's inherited nature is removed. In primitive days, being held was immediately antecedent to being eaten, and the distaste of physical helplessness is accordingly deep-seated. Belgium would rather resist than live; an I. W. W. would rather go to jail than come meekly off his soap box; the militant suffragettes go through the depravity of forced feeding rather than suffer their inequality; and the worker will starve his family to gain recognition for his union. Man will die for liberty, and droops in prison. So psychically revolting is confinement that the alienists have been forced to create a new disease, a "confinement insanity," a prison psychosis.

12. *Instinct of revulsion.*—The social nausea which society feels towards discussions of sex, venereal disease, leprosy, certain smells, is not founded on willfulness. It is a non-intellectual and innate revulsion to the subject. It is only within the last twenty-

five years that the scientific attitude itself has been able to overcome this instinctive repugnance and attack these problems, intimate and perilous to human society, which have languished under the taboo.

13. *Instinct of leadership and mastery.*—It often appears that man seeks leadership and mastery solely because their acquisition places him in a better position to gratify his other instinctive promptings. But there also seems a special gratification in leading and mastery for their own sake. Modern life shows prodigious effort, paid only in the state of being a boss of the gang, a "leading" college man, a "prominent citizen," a secretary or a vice-president, a militia captain or a church elder. A secret ambition to some day lead some group on some quest, be it ethical or economic, is planted deep in our nature. Every dog longs to have his day.

14. *Instinct of subordination: submission.*—In contrast to leadership, man longs at times to follow the fit leader. Soldiers joy in a firm captain, workmen quit a lax though philanthropic employer, instructors thresh under an inefficient though indulgent department head. Eternal independence and its necessary strife are too wearing on the common man and he longs for peace and protection in the shadow of a trust-inspiring leader. To submit under right conditions is not only psychically pleasant, but much of the time to be leaderless is definitely distressing.

15. *Instinct of display: vanity: ostentation.*—This old disposition gives the basic concept for Veblen's remarkable analysis of the economic activities of America's leisure class. The particular state of the industrial arts with its trust control and divorce of producer and consumer, plus political peace, has taken from man his ancient opportunity to show his unique gifts in ownership of economic goods and in valor. So he is driven in his yearning for attention to perverted activities. He lives to waste conspicuously, wantonly, originally, and, by the refined uselessness of his wasting, to show to the gaping world what an extraordinary person he is. The sensitiveness of social matrons to mention in the society columns, the hysteria to be identified with the changing vagaries of the style, the fear of identification with drab and useful livelihoods, offer in their infinite variety a multitude of important economic phenomena.

16. *Instinct of sex.*—Of the subjects vital to an analysis of life, be they aesthetic or economic, sex has suffered most from the

revulsion taboo. Manifestly an instinct which moulds behavior and purposeful planning profoundly, sex as a motive-concept is barred from the economic door. Despite the proven moral and efficiency problems which arise with the postponement of marriage due to modern economic conditions, the massing of unmarried immigrant men into tenement rooms, or the condemning of some millions of migratory workers to a womanless existence, conventional morality meets every situation by denying the sex instinct, by a blind belief that in some strange way modern economic civilization allows its inmates "to mortify the deeds of the body."

While at any particular moment in our behavior we are a blend or composite of many instinct activities, it is accurate to describe much of behavior as dominated at any one time by either a single instinct or at most two or three. A certain environment can habituate man to a specialization in gratification of a single or a pair of instincts. For instance, war matures and educates habits gratifying the instincts of pugnacity and hunting. At the war front, this habit bent gives basis for gradually sloughing off the humane restrictions governing the fighting, and armies mutually obey their new psychology. Machine-gun men know they will not be taken prisoner and their service is now known as the suicide squad. Hospitals or undefended towns are bombed, a very conventional minimum of attention is fixed for the enemy wounded, the primitive method of warfare of the French African troops which at first disturbed the ethics of the Allies is now forgotten under the more liberal interpretation of the revamped war psychology. At home the citizens of the belligerent countries gain a cathartic for their overstimulated pugnacious bent by rioting the People's Council, or tar-and-feathering the I. W. W., or organizing a man-hunt for a lately immigrated Austrian or German. It is quite natural that the actors in these domestic dramas should build up explanatory rationalizations for their activity. It is their mild bow to the fast dimming conventions and traditions of peace. As a gentle and aged lady deplored, "I cannot fight, but I can at least go about and listen and report on the unpatriotic."

The tongue-tied and paralyzed after-dinner speaker is a single-minded expositor of the strange instinct of subservience. The worried father of a sick child seated at his office desk is not an economic man. His behavior is dominated by the parental motive, and in this fact is found the only explanation of his distracted conduct. Veblen in a shrewd analysis of industrial evolution noted



that the early pre-capitalistic culture, with its handicraft production and small intimate social groups, stressed the habits which express the instinct of workmanship and the parental instinct. With the industrial revolution and the immergence into the pecuniary scheme of things of a small property-owning class and a large proletariat, life presented habit opportunities which stressed, in the master class, the so-called egotistical instincts of leadership, hunting, ostentation and vanity, and for the working class removed the opportunities to express the instinct of workmanship and reduced and restricted the other avenues of expression or perverted them to non-evolutionary or anti-social behavior. Instinct perversion rather than freely selected habits of instinct expression seems broadly a just characterization of modern labor-class life. Modern labor unrest has a basis more psychopathological than psychological, and it seems accurate to describe modern industrialism as mentally insanitary.

A remarkable analysis of instinct dominance over behavior is illustrated by the experiments at the Harvard Medical School and described by Professor Cannon. He notes that among the instinct emotions active in man those which are identified with a physical struggle for existence have both a physical and mechanical authority over all other instinct urges to conduct. Like the military general staff, they shoulder aside, in times of stress, the aesthetic and peaceful enthusiasms and mobilize every mental and physical efficiency to their war purpose. The central nervous system is divided by Cannon into three parts, all of which, under peace, function normally. If, however, the brain be stimulated to fear or anger, one of these parts, the so-called "sympathetic part," becomes the dictator. Its particular nerve fibers are, of the three parts, by far the most extensive in their distribution, and permit immediate mobilization of the entire body. Its mobilization consists in "secession of processes in the alimentary canal, thus freeing the energy supplied for other parts, the shifting of blood from the abdominal organs whose activities are deferable to the organs immediately essential to muscular exertion (the lungs, the heart, the central nervous system), the increased vigor of contraction of the heart, the quick abolition of the effects of muscular fatigue, the mobilizing of energy-giving sugar in the circulation—every one of these visceral changes is directly serviceable in making the organism more effective in the violent display of energy which fear or rage or pain may involve."

But the most unique war-footing activity of the body in this vigorous preparedness is the functioning of the adrenal gland. To use Cannon's words: "Adrenin, secreted by the adrenal glands, in time of stress or danger, plays an essential rôle in flooding the blood with sugar, distributes the blood to the heart, lungs, central nervous system and limbs, takes it away from the inhibited organs of the abdomen, it quickly abolishes muscular fatigue and coagulates the blood on injury. These remarkable facts are furthermore associated with some of the most primitive experiences in his life of the higher organisms, experiences common to man and beast—the elemental experiences of pain and fear and rage that come suddenly in critical emergencies."

The conclusion seems both scientific and logical that behavior in anger, fear, pain, and hunger is a basically different behavior from the behavior under repose and economic security. The emotions generated under the conditions of existence-peril seem to make the emotions and motives generative in quiet and peace, pale and unequal. It seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the most vital part of man's inheritance is one which destines him to continue for some myriads of years ever a fighting animal when certain conditions exist in his environment. Though, through education, man be habituated in social and intelligent behavior, or, through license, in sexual debauchery, still at those times when his life or liberty is threatened, his instinct-emotional nature will inhibit either social thought or sex ideas, and present him as merely an irrational fighting animal.

Since every instinct inherited by man from his tree and cave ancestors, literally sewed into his motivating disposition, has survival value, an environment which balks or thwarts his instinct expression, arouses directly and according to the degree of its menace this unreasoning emotional revolt in him. The chemical proof of this emotional revolt is found by Cannon even in individuals suffering from vague states of worry or anxiety. Here the single problem is the manner in which the angry or fearful person coins his revolt emotion into behavior, and this largely depends upon the right and proper method which society has selected for expressing psychical dissatisfaction. There are folk ways of distress behavior just as certainly as there are of religious enthusiasm or patriotism. Since the emotional tone stimulated by the balking of "minor" instincts would naturally be lower than that intense tone generated by a threatened rending of one's flesh,

or imprisonment, to the same degree is the behavior stimulated by the lower-toned emotions less vivid and noteworthy than the blind and frantic resistance to the direct physical threat. The behavior reflex to the emotions generated in a state of worry, anxiety, economic servility, or personal humiliation, instead of expressing itself in violent revolt, is shown in states of mental inertia, loss of interest and power of attention, labor inefficiency, drifting off the job, drink and drugs. These behavior states which under conventional and economic moral theorizing are barrenly and inaccurately described as willful acts are elemental, irrational, and blind reflex activities. Under conditions which allow the satisfactory expression of man's original inherited proclivities, this warlike specialization of the mind and body is avoided. There the cranial or sacral sections of the peace-footing "automatic" section divide with the warlike "sympathetic" section the authority over the body. Health and nerve reserve are built up, a quiet brain permits rational orderings of the associations of the mind, social behavior habits can influence the order and connections of the neurones and insure their perpetuation; in short, intellectual progress becomes possible.

The instincts and their emotions, coupled with the obedient body, lay down in scientific and exact description the motives which must and will determine human conduct. If a physical environment set itself against the expression of these instinct motives, the human organism is fully and efficiently prepared for a tenacious and destructive revolt against this environment; and if the antagonism persist, the organism is ready to destroy itself and disappear as a species if it fails of a psychical mutation which would make the perverted order endurable.

Even if labor-class children evade those repressive deportment traditions that characterize the life of the middle-class young, at a later date in the life of these working-class members certain powerful forces in their environment, though they work on the less susceptible and less plastic natures of mature individuals, produce obsessions and thwartings which function at times, exclusively almost, in determining the behavior of great classes of the industrial population. The powerful forces of the working-class environment which thwart and balk instinct expression are suggested in the phrases "monotonous work," "dirty work," "simplified work," "mechanical work," the "servile place of labor," "insecure tenure of the job," "hire and fire," "winter unemploy-

ment," "the ever found union of the poor district with the crime district," and the "restricted district of prostitution," the "open shop," the "labor turnover," "poverty," the "bread lines," the "scrap heap," "destitution." If we postulate some sixteen instinct unit characters which are present under the laborer's blouse and insistently demand the same gratification that is, with painful care, planned for the college student, in just what kind of perverted compensations must a laborer indulge to make endurable his existence? A western hobo tries in a more or less frenzied way to compensate for a general all-embracing thwarting of his nature by a wonderful concentration of sublimation activities on the wander instinct. The monotony, indignity, dirt, and sexual apologies of, for instance, the unskilled worker's life bring their definite fixations, their definite irrational, inferiority obsessions.

The balked laborer here follows one of the two described lines of conduct: (1) he either weakens, becomes inefficient, drifts away, loses interest in the quality of his work, drinks, deserts his family; or (2) he indulges in a true type inferiority compensation, and in order to dignify himself, to eliminate for himself his inferiority in his own eyes, he strikes or brings on a strike; he commits violence, or he stays on the job and injures machinery, or mutilates the materials. He is fit food for dynamite conspiracies. He is ready to make sabotage a part of his regular habit scheme. His condition is one of mental stress and unfocused psychic unrest, and could in all accuracy be called a definite industrial psychosis. He is neither willful nor responsible, he is suffering from a stereotyped mental disease.

If one leaves the strata of unskilled labor and investigates the higher economic classes, he finds parallel conditions. There is a profound unrest and strong migratory tendency among department-store employees. One New York store with less than three thousand employees has thirteen thousand pass through its employ in a year. Since the establishment in American life of big business with its extensive efficiency systems, its order and dehumanized discipline, its caste system, as it were, there has developed among its highly paid men a persistent unrest, a dissatisfaction and decay of morale which is so noticeable and costly that it has received repeated attention. Even the conventional competitive efficiency of American business is in grave question. I suggest that this unrest is a true revolt psychosis, a definite mental unbalance, an efficiency psychosis, as it were, and has its definite

psychic antecedents; and that our present moralizing and guess-solutions are both hopeless and ludicrous.

The dynamic psychology of today describes the present civilization as a repressive environment. For a great number of its inhabitants, a sufficient self-expression is denied. There is for those who care to see, a deep and growing unrest and pessimism. With the increase in knowledge is coming a new realization of the irrational direction of economic evolution. The economists, however, view economic inequality and life degradation as objects, in truth, outside the science. Our value concept is a price mechanism hiding behind a phrase. If we are to play a part in the social readjustment immediately ahead, we must put human nature and human motives into our basic hypotheses. Our value concept must be the yardstick to measure just how fully things and institutions contribute to a full psychological life. We must know more of the meaning of progress. The domination of society by one economic class has for its chief evil the thwarting of the instinct life of the subordinate class and the perversion of the upper class. The extent and characteristics of this evil are only to be estimated when we know the innate potentialities and inherited propensities of man, and the ordering of this knowledge and its application to the changeable economic structure is the task before the trained economists today.